

# Give Nixon Time on War, Aiken Asks

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 11 — Senator George D. Aiken of Vermont, senior Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, suggested today that President Nixon be given more time to work out an orderly withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam.

Long regarded as one of the leading and most influential Senate doves, Senator Aiken took issue with his Republican and Democratic colleagues who in recent weeks have revived the Vietnam debate by criticizing the Administration's present rate of troop withdrawal and by advancing proposals for a faster, more specific timetable of disengagement.

In a lecture to a group of college students at Norwich University in Northfield, Vt., he cautioned, "We can not achieve instant gratification through a precipitate withdrawal of our troops."

"The President needs time, and I for one, will do my best to see that he gets it."

## First Mention Since May

It was the first time that Senator Aiken had spoken out at length on the Vietnam issue since last May when he urged in a Senate speech that the Administration begin immediately an "orderly withdrawal" of American forces. Since then the Administration has ordered the withdrawal of 60,000 troops, and Senator Aiken has predicted the total will reach 100,000 by the end of the year.

Just as the May speech, with its clear expression of impatience with Administration policy, tended to end the moratorium on Vietnam criticism in Congress, so the latest Aiken speech may tend to check the criticism that has seemingly reached crescendo proportions in recent weeks.

While the more outspoken critics certainly will not be silenced, the more moderate doves, such as the Senate majority leader, Mike Mansfield of Montana, and Senator John Sherman Cooper, Republican of Kentucky, tend to follow the course of Senator Aiken.

Contending that President Nixon was "slowly making progress" in reducing the American military presence in Vietnam, Senator Aiken suggested that some of the doves

had carried their criticism too far in suggesting more rapid withdrawal of troops. And he used many of the arguments of the Administration in warning of the consequences of a "precipitate withdrawal."

## Consequences Cited

"Those who are so anxious now to spur the President into a pell-mell retreat, even to set deadlines for him," he said, "should pause to consider the likely consequences of their exhortations."

"The South Vietnamese are bound to think sooner or later that we are simply preparing a case against them to cover our own errors. That is the worst of alternatives."

"It could lead to a breakdown of order in South Vietnam and ultimately to a wholesale massacre of those, who for good reasons or bad, put their faith in the United States Government."

"And if that happens, it will invite a repetition in this country of the ugly days of the late 1940's when Americans flailed at Americans over the absurd proposition that nefarious forces within our own Government 'lost' China."

Senator Aiken made clear that he still favors withdrawal of American troops as soon as possible, if only because of a belief that this is the only way to a political solution of the war.

"The tragedy of Vietnam," he said, "is that we have prevented self-determination through the weight of our intervention, even while proclaiming the preservation of self-determination as our goal."

## The Overwhelming Factor

"We are still pretending that self-determination is possible while our military presence remains the overwhelming factor in the country," he said. "President Nixon is fully aware of this and is slowly making progress towards correcting the situation."

The principal thesis of the Aiken lecture was that the Vietnam war represents an extension of the foreign policies of the New Deal and that "Vietnam is just the place where the foreign policies of the New Deal years came to their logical end."

The Vietnam war, he said,

has ended "our age of innocence in world affairs," and "has ended the illusion that our military power bestows on us an equal influence in world politics."

"It has taught us—or should have taught us—the vital importance of finding a halfway house between the innocence of isolationism and the arrogance which says we ought to play the world's policeman."

Looking to the future course of foreign policy, Senator Aiken proposed a review of all outstanding treaty commitments and international agreements with a view to abrogating those agreements which are no longer taken seriously by other nations.

Such a review, he suggested "could provide a focus for a new bipartisanship in foreign policy to replace the bipartisanship of the New Deal years which fell apart over Vietnam."

"The ground for a new consensus exists," he said. "I believe most Americans want some assurance that they will not wake up one morning to find we are off on some new adventure to impose self-determination on some small country."

"And finally the time has come for the United States to adopt a 'live and let live' attitude toward the rest of the world."

## MANILA WAR ROLE IS ISSUE IN CAPITAL

### State Department Opposes Publication of Testimony

By JOHN W. FINNEY  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 12—A clash has developed between the State Department and a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee over whether to make public the financial arrangements under which the Philippines agreed to send a 2,000-man construction battalion to South Vietnam.

The State Department is reported to have objected to the publication of information obtained by the subcommittee showing that the Philippines agreed to contribute to the war effort only upon receiving assurances of financial and military assistance.

The dispute is a test case for the Senate subcommittee, headed by Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri, in its proclaimed intention of re-examining and making public the extent of the nation's foreign commitments.

#### Four Days of Hearings

In four days of closed-door hearings, the special subcommittee on foreign commitments recently explored the base arrangements and military commitments of the United States and the Philippines. The dispute involves how much of the testimony should now be made public.

The opposition to publishing the testimony is said to have originated more in the State Department than in the Defense Department, an indication that the objections are based more on political considerations than on reasons of military secrecy.

The Philippine detachment was sent to South Vietnam in the fall of 1966. Although the unit has been engaged in non-combat duties, such as road construction, it has often been cited by State Department officials as an example of support for the war in Vietnam.

President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines said the troops were going "in support of a principle," adding that "there is no price too high to pay for freedom."

Information obtained by the subcommittee was said to show that the United States had to underwrite at least part of the cost of maintaining the Philippine troops in Vietnam, and to increase its military assistance to the Manila Government.

A similar financial arrangement is reported to have been made with South Korea when the Seoul Government in 1966 agreed to send 20,000 additional troops to South Vietnam, bringing its total contribution to 46,000 men.

The State Department is said to fear that publication of the testimony might create the impression that Filipino troops went to South Vietnam not as a willing contribution of an ally, but as mercenary troops paid by the United States.

One Senator put the issue between the subcommittee and the department in these terms: "Do we tell ourselves and the world that they are mercenaries?"

#### Embarrassment Is Feared

Public opinion of the arrangements with the Philippines could also set a precedent for publication of the agreement with the Seoul Government. This, in turn, could cause complications if it appeared that the Philippines or South Korea had obtained more favorable treatment.

President Marcos recently announced that the Philippine Government would begin a gradual withdrawal of its detachment "as soon as funds for their maintenance run out." The Philippine Government in 1966 appropriated \$9-million to finance the troops' service in Vietnam. But subcommittee sources hint that there is an American offset to this Philippine contribution.

In view of the current dispute, it now appears that publication will be postponed at least a few weeks. The State Department may move to postpone publication until after the Philippine Presidential election on Nov. 11 out of a concern that the testimony could inflame the nationalistic, anti-American feelings that already begun to appear in the course of the campaign.

#### Manila Asks Pact Review

MANILA, Oct. 12 (AP)—President Marcos directed the Foreign Ministry today to seek discussions with the United States on the revision of the military bases agreement of 1947. He said the Philippines wanted the same rights enjoyed by other countries where there are American military bases, such as Japan and Spain, especially over offenses committed by United States servicemen.

NEW YORK TIMES

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## CHINA ROAD FORCE IN LAOS AT 20,000

Asian Sources Say Link to  
Muong Sai Is Completed

By RICHARD HALLORAN  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15 — Asian diplomatic sources said today that Communist China has nearly 20,000 troops building roads in northern Laos.

The Asian diplomats said they know of the Chinese activity partly from their own sources of information and partly from aerial photographs they have been shown by American officials. The pictures, they said, were taken by American reconnaissance planes.

The presence of Chinese troops in northern Laos has been reported for several years, but their number and the extent of their work has not been made public. Whether the 20,000 have been there all along or whether the force, which includes security guards, has been built up recently could not be determined.

The sources said that the Chinese had completed a road from the Chinese border which protrudes into northern Laos, south to the market town of Muong Sai, in an area controlled by the Communist-led Pathet Lao rebels.

### 2 Spurs Being Built

The Chinese have also been working on two spurs to the north-south road, the sources said. One runs east to link up with a road from China through Phongsaly Province in Laos to Dienbienphu in North Vietnam. The other runs west, preferably along an old trail, toward the border of Thailand.

The sources said the Chinese had been relatively inactive for the last 5 to 6 weeks, presumably because of heavy rains. Construction is expected to resume when the rainy season is over at the end of this month.

United States officials were reluctant to discuss the subject but did not challenge the report of the Asian diplomats. The officials did say, however, that they believe the Chinese have not been involved in the recent fighting on the Plaine des Jarres, well to the south of Muong Sai.

The United States has acknowledged conducting aerial reconnaissance flights over Laos since 1964. The Chinese in Laos are believed to have been identified, through the use of high-powered lenses and special film, by their uniforms, equipment and vehicles and by observed movements from China. Their presence is also believed to have been reported by refugees fleeing from the area to Government-controlled areas of Laos.

### Political Motive Seen

Some observers believe that the presence of Chinese troops in Laos is primarily political, to demonstrate to the United States that Peking must be considered in any settlement of the conflicts in Laos and Vietnam.

Others point out that the roads the Chinese are constructing can be used to infiltrate men and supplies from China into Laos in support of the 45,000 North Vietnamese and 30,000 Pathet Lao troops there.

They also say that the roads, once completed, could be used to support subversive and terrorist operations in Thailand. The Chinese and the North Vietnamese have reportedly been trying to stir up insurgency against the Government there.

*Symington Subcom*

# U.S. Aid Terms Withheld Until Filipino Voting

By Warren Unna

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Nixon administration is determined not to release secret Senate testimony indicating the United States is underwriting part of the cost of Philippine troops serving in Vietnam until after the Philippine presidential election Nov. 11.

A State Department source said he believed that public disclosure of conditions under which President Ferdinand E. Marcos dispatched a 2000-man construction battalion to South Vietnam in 1966 might influence Marcos' contest for re-election against Sergio Osmeña.

Testimony by other government witnesses before Sen. Stuart Symington's foreign relations subcommittee reportedly details how the United States had to underwrite part of the maintenance cost of the Philippine troops and increase its military aid before Marcos permitted the troops to be sent to Vietnam.

Marcos, at the time, publicly explained that the Philippine troops were being sent "in support of principle" and that "there is no price too high to pay for freedom."

Marcos recently has taken steps to renegotiate the conditions under which the United States may continue to maintain its huge military bases in the Philippines. Publicity on the Vietnam matter is re-

Philippine and South Korean contingents working with U.S. forces.

President Marcos already has announced that the Philippine troops would be brought back "as soon as funds for their maintenance runs out."

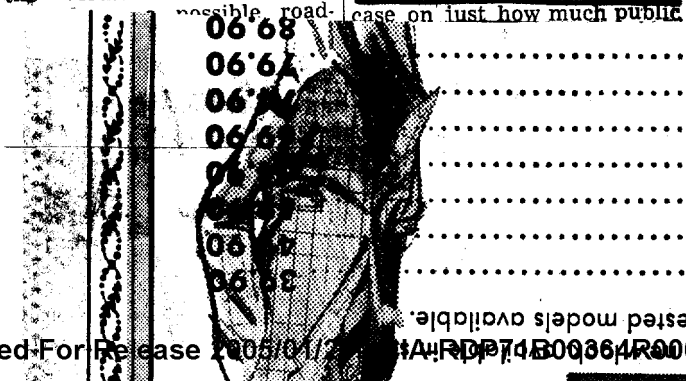
South Korea, which upped its contingent from 26,000 to 46,000 in 1966, also was assured of additional U.S. financial support. But recently, when a leading South Korean official visited Washington, he made inquiries on what his country should be expected to do with its troops if the United States withdrew from South Vietnam.

Sen. George D. Aiken (R-Vt.), the Senate's senior Republican and a leading member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told him that South Korea should withdraw its troops in the same proportional rate as the United States was withdrawing.

## Question Expected

Now U.S. sources are fearful that if the terms for U.S. aid in return for Philippine participation in Vietnam become public, South Korea and the Philippines might begin to question which of them had the better deal.

Sources close to the Symington subcommittee see the administration delay on releasing the transcript as a test case on just how much public



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## U.S. Reported Aiding in War

# Symington Unit Calls Helms To Explain CIA Role in Laos

A Senate subcommittee has summoned Richard Helms, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, to explain the role of the CIA in the secret war in Laos.

Helms is expected to appear next week. The investigation is being conducted behind closed doors by a Foreign Relations subcommittee on Overseas Commitments under Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.).

Three military attaches from the American embassy in Vientiane will also testify. William Sullivan, ambassador to Laos from 1964 until this year, is scheduled to be the lead-off witness on Monday. Sullivan is now a deputy assistant secretary for East Asia.

**Delicate Issue**  
 The investigation is perhaps the most delicate undertaken by the subcommittee in its examination of the consequences of the nation's global involvements. The United States and the Laotian government have never admitted publicly that

Washington plays a role in the struggle.

However, American participation is believed to be extensive and on two fronts. United States B-52s are reported to be flying as many as 200 sorties a day from bases in Thailand and South Vietnam, bombing the Ho Chi Minh trail in Laos. North Vietnam sends men and supplies down this eastern route to South Vietnam.

In addition, the United States is providing arms, advisers, transportation and bombing support to the Royalist-neutralist government of Laos for its war in the north against the Communist Pathet Lao and their North Vietnamese allies.

American military aid to the Laotian government has been estimated as high as \$200 million a year—four times as much as the economic assistance.

On Sept. 26, President Nixon said there "are no American combat forces in Laos . . . We

have been providing logistical support and some training for the neutralist government in order to avoid Laos falling under Communist domination. As far as American power in Laos is concerned, there are (no forces) there at the present time on a combat basis."

He pointed out that American participation in Laos is at the request of the government, set up in accordance with a 1962 agreement.

The Symington committee has refused to disclose either its witness list or the line of questions that will be pursued. However, it is likely that Helms will be asked about a reported 300 CIA agents said to be operating in the Laotian war. Many are reported to be former Green Berets, recruited to lead Laotian units on reconnaissance missions and terrorist raids.

Soldiers and supplies for the war are carried by Air America and Continental Air Service. The two airlines are said to be CIA-operated.

The American engagement in Laos reportedly increased markedly in the past year. Several senators, notably John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.), a member of the subcommittee, have expressed alarm that the United States is slipping into another Vietnam.

The three officers recalled to testify before the Senate unit are Col. Robert L. Tyrell, the air attache in Vientiane; Lt. Col. Edgar W. Duskin and Major Robert Thomas, both army attaches.

They are expected to describe the tactical bombing and ground operations that the American military in Laos reportedly directs for the Royal government. There have been reports that every operation now mounted by the Royal Lao forces is directed and controlled by the American military establishment there.

The United States Air Force reportedly flies up to 300 sorties a day against the Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese. On the ground, American captains and majors reportedly draw up battle plans in the field and even accompany units into action.

The Symington unit will also explore economic aid to Laos, \$51.5 million in the last accounting year. Robert H. Nooter, deputy assistant administrator for East Asia in the AID agency, will be the principal witness.

Among other things, he is expected to testify on Laotian corruption and misuse of aid funds and the prospects for turning over existing programs to the Lao.

The subcommittee will also hear from a young AID official, Loring Waggoner, who has also been brought back from Laos to testify. Waggoner, 28, runs rural development programs in Laos.

Some time after the executive sessions are concluded, the Symington committee plans to release a transcript to the public, censored of classified matter. The committee is currently trying to get agreement of the State Department on a transcript of the first round of hearings which dealt with the Philippines.

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PAGE EDITORIAL

# Smoke-Screen Over U.S. Involvement in Laos

WASHINGTON—Laos, the land of a million elephants and the white parasol, is for most Americans a mysterious and distant land about which they know little. Not the least of their lack of knowledge is what their Government and armed forces are up to there.

Tomorrow morning, a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee is scheduled to start an intensive inquiry into the United States' involvement in the increasing hostilities in Laos. The hearings are expected to go on all week and possibly into next week as the subcommittee, headed by Senator Stuart Symington, Democrat of Missouri, tries to find out what this country is doing in Laos and what its commitments are for the future.

The outlook for informing the American voters and taxpayers about that involvement, however, is not promising. The Nixon Administration has been singularly unforthcoming in telling the citizens about American operations in Laos. The Senate hearings will be closed to the public, and the prospect of anything save a heavily censored transcript ever being released is not good. Even the names of the witnesses are being kept secret, except for that of William H. Sullivan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs and a former Ambassador to Laos.

The American engagement in the Laotian situation has been wrapped in mystery since the fighting there flared up over the summer and reports from Congressmen and the press last month gave evidence of American advisers and aircraft taking part in combat. President Nixon, in his Sept. 26 press conference would say only that there are no American "combat troops" in Laos. White House spokesman declined to reveal what promises were made to Premier Souvanna Phouma of Laos when he met with the President two weeks ago to seek more military and diplomatic support.

The Pentagon has refused to make public the amount and type of military aid the United States has given to Laos. The State Department has declined to confirm or deny press reports from Vientiane or otherwise to provide much information on the number of Americans in Laos, who they are and what their mission is, and whether the United States is slipping deeper into Southeast Asian conflicts. Congressmen and congressional investigators who claim to know something of the situation have firmly turned aside inquiries.

Perhaps most indicative of all, the State Department, despite repeated requests, has refused to give any justification for not answering the many questions put to it. The reasons for the secrecy, therefore, can come only from educated speculation.

The first reason is that the United States has broken the Geneva Agreement of 1962 that forbids outside powers from sending military forces into Laos. The United States is running at least two operations in Laos; one is the bombing of the Ho Chi Minh trail over which the North Vietnamese move men and supplies from North Vietnam through Laos into South Vietnam; the other is the combat support for Lao Government offensives against the North Viet-

namese and Pathet Lao rebels. To admit to these would invite more strident propaganda attacks from American adversaries and more censure from allies and neutral nations, even though the North Vietnamese, with 45,000 soldiers in Laos, and Communist China, with nearly 20,000, have also broken the Geneva agreement.

The second reason for the ambiguity is the clear connection between the conflict in Laos and the war in Vietnam. The North Vietnamese are fighting to keep the Ho Chi Minh trail open and to conquer Laos along with South Vietnam. The Americans are trying to close the trail and to defend Laos along with South Vietnam. Given the domestic dissent against the war in Vietnam, the hint that the war in Vietnam may be spreading to Laos can only cause the Nixon Administration more trouble here at home.

A third reason derives from the second. The Nixon Administration is apparently assisting the Lao Government against the North Vietnamese in Laos to improve the United States and South Vietnamese bargaining position at the peace talks in Paris. But, just as in South Vietnam, the Administration doesn't want to admit that it is trying to gain on the battlefield advantage that it can use in Asia for fear of stirring up more dissent at home and criticism abroad.

This raises yet another question: Will the Administration's policy of secrecy cause it more grief than a policy of candor? With the rising dissent against the war in Vietnam and the suspicions of all moves in Southeast Asia that linger from the secret way in which the United States slipped into the war in Vietnam, the policy on Laos may become another sword that the Administration's opponents will turn against it.

The fourth reason for the secrecy is the deep penetration of the Central Intelligence Agency in Laos. Air America and Continental Air Services, two supposedly private air lines operating in Laos, are known to be financed by the C.I.A. A large number of people in the Agency for International Development (AID) mission are either C.I.A. agents or contract employees. The "spooks" never like to submit to the glare of public exposure.

Lastly, there is an unknown quantity in the secrecy equation, the human element in almost all bureaucratic, diplomatic, and military activity that instinctively prefers secrecy to disclosure whenever that is possible.

## Chinese Roadbuilders

The 20,000 Chinese troops reported to be in Laos are busy building roads in Communist-controlled territory, according to Asian diplomatic sources in Washington. Pictures taken by American reconnaissance planes show that the Chinese have completed a road from the Chinese border to the market town of Muong Sai, according to these sources. The Chinese are also said to be working on two spurs—one, along an old trail, toward the border with Thailand, the other to link up with an existing road running from China through Laos to a North Vietnamese terminus

Thus, the possibility that the American public will soon be informed of what its Government is doing in Laos is remote, despite promises by Senator Symington. On the Senate floor, he has assured "both my colleagues and the public that, allowing for legitimate national security interests, as complete a record as possible on United States involvement in Laos will be made public following completion of our executive sessions." That phrase, "national security interests," is the hooker because the Administration has the final say on what is "legitimate" for the citizens to know. The Administration's record on Laos in the recent past suggests that it won't be much.

This raises yet another question: Will the Administration's policy of secrecy cause it more grief than a policy of candor? With the rising dissent against the war in Vietnam and the suspicions of all moves in Southeast Asia that linger from the secret way in which the United States slipped into the war in Vietnam, the policy on Laos may become another sword that the Administration's opponents will turn against it.

—RICHARD HALLORAN

# Laotian Generals Concede Prisoners Are Tortured

By HENRY KAMM

Special to The New York Times

VIENTIANE, Laos, Oct. 19

Two principal leaders of the Royal Laotian Army have acknowledged torture and maltreatment of North Vietnamese prisoners of war and have condoned the practice.

In presenting groups of captives to newsmen last week, Maj. Gen. Vang Pao and Maj. Gen. Kouprasith Abhay conceded that prisoners who had refused to cooperate in interrogations about their units and their operations were subjected to deprivation of food and drink, to beatings and electrical shock torture.

Laotian and American officials here were surprised not at the torture—which is widely practiced on both sides of the war in South Vietnam as well as Laos—but at the fact that senior officers made no attempt to conceal violations of the Geneva convention on the treatment of prisoners of war.

## Hanoi Denies Presence

Because the North Vietnamese Government denies that its troops are fighting in Laos, its embassy here denies that prisoners taken in the fighting are Vietnamese soldiers. This deprives the prisoners of even minimal protection. Hanoi's embassy here refuses even to accept letters the prisoners write to their families. Laos says she holds 89 prisoners and defectors from the North Vietnamese Army.

Pheng Norindr, Secretary General of the neutralist Royal Government, said after the generals' disclosures that Laos adhered to the principles of the convention, which seeks to assure fair treatment for prisoners and to shield them against having to disclose to their captors more than their name and rank. Mr. Pheng said he was unaware of any tortures.

## Unity Was the Goal

War in Laos has gone on for nearly 10 years, and it is several sided. Under a 1962 Geneva Agreement the country was to be unified under a neutralist, rightist and pro-Communist coalition, but that government has been moribund since 1963. The neutralists,

under Premier Souvanna Phouma, are in power, and have rightists on their side.

They are kept there with the assistance of the United States, among whose interests are the many North Vietnamese using the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos to take supplies and troops to South Vietnam. It has been charged that the North Vietnamese aid and are aided by the Communist-led Pathet Lao troops.

General Vang Pao, commander of the embattled Second Military Region and the principal recipient of direct American military aid, displayed five Vietnamese soldiers captured in the recent fighting around the Plain des Jarres when newsmen visited his headquarters at Sam Thong. Four wore tight handcuffs and were under constant armed guard.

## He Was Left Behind

One identified himself as Nguyen Van Co, a 24-year-old private captured north of the Plain des Jarres on Sept. 27. He said he had been left behind by his retreating comrades when he was disabled by a wound in his left shoulder.

Under interrogation he was evasive and kept changing his story, General Vang Pao said.

For that, the prisoner said, he was starved for four days despite his wound, beaten and tortured by shocks administered through electrodes fixed to two fingers of his right hand. He held up his manacled hands to show scratches he said had been caused by the electrodes.

"He does not want to tell the whole truth," said General Vang Pao, "so he was forced a little."

The general did not deny any part of the prisoner's account. He said Nguyen Van Co was the only one among the five captives on display who had not cooperated and therefore had had to be tortured.

Nguyen Van Co was also the only prisoner who appeared sullen, tough, hostile and afraid. The others nodded in assent when the man chosen by the general to speak for them—he wore no handcuffs—declared that in North Vietnam many lies had been told and that he had been impressed with the number of transistor radios and wrist watches he had seen since his capture.

General Vang Pao patted the spokesman on the back and said all their handcuffs would be taken off when their interrogations were completed.

Nguyen Van Co, who answered questions reluctantly, barely opening his mouth as he spoke through an official interpreter, said he was not a Communist party member. Alluding to his torture, he said he was not afraid of death, only of pain.

"They have me and they can do with me that they want," he said grimly. General Vang Pao assured newsmen that the prisoner would not be punished for having spoken.

## Reluctant to Speak

The following day, General Kouprasith Abhay, commander of the Fifth Military Region, which includes Vientiane, showed nine prisoners to the press at his headquarters. Frequently they turned their heads away from the newsmen and hesitated to speak about their treatment in the presence of the general.

However, one prisoner who was taken outside to be photographed said that he had been tortured in the days following his capture. The interpreter refused to translate the details of the torture.

General Kouprasith Abhay said the prisoners have been well treated but that until they talked they would be given nothing to drink. "The Government tries to enforce the Geneva convention," he said, "but not to give them to drink in the first days if they do not talk is perfectly natural."

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 19 — Senator Stuart Symington criticized today what he termed a cloak of secrecy as he prepared to open hearings on United States involvement in Laos. Senator Symington is chairman of a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee that is scheduled to begin the inquiry on Laos tomorrow. The hearings are expected to continue for at least a week.

In a statement today, the Missouri Democrat said that "in past years, high Government officials have wrapped activities in a cloak of secrecy, keeping details not only of policy, but also of the implementation of that policy, hidden even from those of us in the legislative branch who have responsibilities in the foreign policy and military fields." He added:

"To deny there is fighting is a travesty, when not only the enemy but the American participants, including those who are casualties and some of their families, know the truth."

# Symington Blasts Denial That

# U.S. Fights in Laos

## Raps 'Secrecy' On Probe Eve

From News Dispatches

Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) said yesterday it was "a travesty" to deny that Americans were participating in the fighting in Laos.

Symington issued the statement on the eve of closed hearings on Laos by his subcommittee on security agreements and commitments abroad. He charged that "high government officials have wrapped activities there in a cloak of secrecy."

Symington said the closed session would be "the first step in the effort to bring Laos into public focus." A censored transcript of the hearings is to be made public later.

"If there is any single area where it would appear that the Senate and the American people need and deserve more information, it is with regard to United States commitments and involvements in this small distant kingdom," he said.

"In past years, high government officials have wrapped activities there in a cloak of secrecy, keeping details not only of policy but also of the implementation of that policy hidden even from those of us in the legislative branch who have responsibilities in the foreign policy and military fields."

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He went on to say: "To deny that there is fighting in Laos is a travesty, when not only the enemy but also the American participants, including those who are casualties and some of their families, know the truth."

"Under our form of government, no matter what the nature of the enemy, without public support no administration should wage a foreign war."

Symington's subcommittee has been at work since February examining the extent of the American military involvement overseas. It already has held hearings on the Philippines and plans sessions later this year on Thailand and other Asian nations.

To date, it has not conducted any of its sessions in the open and its two-man investigating staff has been committed to absolute secrecy.

### Detailed Survey

The panel is making a country-by-country survey of the Far East to find out exactly how deeply the United States is committed, through formal treaties and executive understandings such as base agreements and contingency planning papers.

The administration will not admit to any U.S. combat forces in Laos although it has acknowledged that U.S. planes are flying armed air reconnaissance for the Laotians.

Officially, American military enterprises in Laos are limited to intelligence-gathering operations and to the activities of a sizable mission of military attaches scattered about the country.

These men, usually lieutenants and captains, are to be found in most towns in those parts of Laos not occupied by Communist forces.

(The State Department said in September that there are about 830 U.S. "government" personnel stationed in Laos. But there are other American personnel in the country, including crews of Air America and Continental Air Services, who reportedly fly under contract to the Central Intelligence Agency.)

### News Reports

Correspondents in Laos have written in recent months of U.S. military activity in the Plain of Jars in direct support of the Royal Laotian Army which is battling the Communist Pathet Lao forces. Senator Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield, after a recent visit, described U.S. involvement in Laos as "disturbing."

In August, the Senate became so concerned about the situation it passed an amendment to the \$20-billion defense procurement bill aimed at preventing U.S. forces from helping the Laotians directly. The amendment is now before a Senate-House conference.

Symington said he and his staff, after several trips to Laos, "have become convinced that the secrecy surrounding our relations with that country has gone on far too long. Speculative news stories, Communist propaganda and irresponsible political charges are poor substitutes for reliable factual information on a subject of such importance."

Symington did not indicate how long the closed hearings would continue.



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# Symington Raps U.S. Laos Role

By the Associated Press

Sen. Stuart Symington, opening a week-long hearing today, said it is a travesty to deny that Americans are fighting and dying in Laos.

The Missouri Democrat is chairman of the Foreign Relations subcommittee on security agreements and commitments abroad which has called Richard Helms, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and other top officials to testify on the U.S. involvement in Laos.

Some of the witnesses will be soldiers and civilians summoned home from Laos just to testify.

Although the hearings are closed, Symington has said he will make the record public as soon as possible and has indicated there may be open hearings later.

## Another Vietnam?

The main question Symington has set out to answer is: Are an increasing number of Americans fighting and dying in a war that may become another Vietnam?

"To deny there is fighting is a travesty, when not only the enemy but also the American participants, including those who are casualties and some of their families, know the truth," Symington said.

Trips to Laos by subcommittee aides and members con-

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vinced him "the secrecy surrounding our relations with that country has gone on far too long," he said.

"If whatever we have done is right, the American people deserve to know it," he said. "If whatever has been done is wrong the secrecy can only compound that wrong rather than right it."

The Senate has become so concerned about the Laos situation it passed an amendment in August to the \$20 billion defense procurement bill aimed at preventing U.S. forces from helping the Laotians directly. The amendment is now before a joint Senate-House conference.

The hearings into Laos are part of a broad look at American commitments abroad which the subcommittee began earlier this month with closed sessions on the Philippines.

The hearings are the first formal inquiry into the U.S. involvement in Laos, where U.S. carrier-based jets were bombing Communist-led forces five years ago. When the U.S. buildup in Vietnam started, Air Force jets joined in the pounding of Laos and North Vietnam. Nearly 100 U.S. fliers have been lost over Laos.

The principal air target has been the Ho Chi Minh trail where it snakes through Laos on its way around the demilitarized zone splitting North and South Vietnam.

What is not known is the extent of U.S. support of Laotian forces against the Communist Pathet Lao both from the air and on the ground. Officials refuse to say how many Americans actually are in the country.

The Pentagon insists U.S. planes are flying only armed reconnaissance and that there are no "combat troops" in the country. That's what President Nixon told a news conference last month, too.

And after a published account said the Air Force was flying some 300 sorties a day in support of Laotian forces, Premier Souvanna Phouma denied there were "combat troops" of any other nation aside from North Vietnam in his country.

Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield, however, says the United States has involved itself in Laos as a supplement to the Vietnam war and that investment in American lives and money appears to be increasing.

Mansfield visited Laos in August and made a confidential report to the President when he returned.

The United States pumps \$52 million a year into Laos for economic assistance and according to some published estimates perhaps four times that in military assistance.



'Come on out, Yank—I know you're in there!'

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President Johnson used this alleged incident to obtain authority to send hundreds of thousands of men of our Armed Forces overseas into Vietnam to wage an undeclared, immoral major war in that faraway country.

There were only five U.S. Senators at that time who voted to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. I am glad to report I was one of those five. The others were Senators FULBRIGHT, McCARTHY, MORSE, and GRUENING.

Mr. President, I have prepared and am submitting a resolution to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The concurrent resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 42), which reads as follows, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. CON. RES. 42

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That, under the authority of section 3 of the joint resolution, commonly known as the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and entitled "Joint Resolution to promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia", approved August 10, 1964 (78 Stat. 384), such joint resolution is terminated upon passage of this concurrent resolution.*

## ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, the Senator is recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

#### THE NOMINATION OF HON. CLEMENT F. HAYNSWORTH, JR., TO BE AN ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, at a special news conference convened in his office yesterday, President Nixon reaffirmed his support for Judge Clement Haynsworth and stated he had examined in detail the record made by the Senate Judiciary Committee, and that he had absolutely no doubt that Judge Haynsworth is a man of integrity and honesty.

I have read the transcript of the news conference, Mr. President, and also examined the charges that have been raised against Judge Haynsworth and their denial by Senator Cook and others before the Senate.

I share the judgment of the President as to the honesty and integrity of this distinguished nominee.

I believe that if any Senator examines in detail and depth the so-called appearances of impropriety that have been raised, rather than taking a rigid position based on superficial reasoning determined by philosophy or ideological persuasion, he will reach a similar judgment.

If that approach is used, then I am convinced that the nominee will be confirmed by this body by an overwhelming vote.

Some are now saying the President should withdraw this nomination because

there are appearances of impropriety that have been created; but I ask, in all due deference, "Who created those appearances?" Clearly, in my view, not the distinguished nominee, for, as I have said, any objective analysis of the record will clearly indicate to the contrary. The so-called appearances of impropriety so often alluded to in debate on this floor have been created, in my judgment, not by the nominee but by the debate, the newspaper accounts, the reports, the innuendo, the rumor, the incomplete analysis of the 700-page record compiled by the Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

But even if this be the fact, it is being contended that while the ethical questions that have been raised were not warranted, or were without foundation, since doubt has been raised the President should withdraw the nomination. However, as the President has said, and said only yesterday, to pursue that course of action would mean that anyone who wants to make a charge can thereby create the appearance of impropriety, raise a doubt, and then demand that the nomination be withdrawn. The President rejected that course of action, and I commend him for it.

To allow a man to be victimized in this manner would be contrary to our system, and would obviously mean that a nomination could be defeated for a good reason, for a bad reason, or, as in this case, for no reason at all.

Mr. President, I have great respect for this body, as I have deep and genuine respect for the underlying genius that created our tripartite system of central government, consisting of the executive department, the two branches of the legislative department, and the judiciary, each having a rather exquisite set of checks and balances, prerogatives, and overlapping jurisdiction with the others. This insures that there is a consensus expressed by the machinery of government that fairly and clearly represents the will of the people themselves.

The Senate is now engaged in one of its unique jurisdictional undertakings—the responsibility, under the Constitution, that it advise and consent with the President of the United States on the confirmation or the withholding of confirmation of a nominee for the highest tribunal the only constitutional tribunal, in this Republic.

I think it might be appropriate, for the moment, to examine in detail the responsibility of this body in that respect. Clearly, I believe, the President and the Senate have concurrent responsibility and concurrent jurisdiction in the matter of selecting the members of that constitutional tribunal, the Supreme Court of the United States, in this case specifically an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

I have no quarrel with those who say that the Senate must not act as a mere rubber stamp, giving automatic or pro forma approval to any nomination sent by any President to the Senate at any time. I do believe that our jurisdiction is as great as that of the executive department; otherwise, the phrase "advise and consent" would have no mean-

ing. But there is one principal constitutional distinction between the responsibility of the President and the responsibility of the Senate. As it clearly appears from the Constitution, only the President can initiate a nomination. The Senate may consider only those nominations so initiated; and, in considering nominees for the highest tribunal, it is the responsibility of the Senate to examine every fact and every facet involved in such nominations.

It is my purpose now to urge my colleagues to do precisely that; and, with all due respect, even with my great reverence for this body, to suggest that they have not yet done it. The debate thus far has been altogether too detached from the record compiled by the Committee on the Judiciary. The debate thus far has dealt too much and too often with "the appearance of impropriety," and too little with the fact and substance of the nominee's record as adduced by the committee.

I believe it would be a tragic chapter in the relationship between the Senate and the judiciary if this nomination were not determined on the basis of the merits and facts of the controversy, rather than on the basis of innuendo. I believe, as I have stated before on this floor, that it is time we examined the facts and circumstances attendant upon this nomination, and stopped "shoveling smoke"—a phrase that was impressed upon me some years ago when I was in law school. It was then pointed out that too often law students and lawyers and, I am inclined to believe, legislators, even those in this august body, tend to become caught up in the emotions of the moment and to be attracted by the glitter of vocabulary instead of careful scrutiny of the record itself and the facts and circumstances on which a judgment should be based.

In response to that implication, either Justice Holmes or Judge Learned Hand—I have forgotten now which—made the charge that lawyers are prone to spend much of their adult lives "shoveling smoke"—that is, dealing in things other than the facts of the case at issue.

I admonish my fellow Senators, and I am confident that the Senate will not do so, not to engage in a smoke shoveling contest in connection with the confirmation of Clement Haynsworth to serve as an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. I believe my colleagues, and the Senate as a body, will not engage in the luxury of innuendo as the basis for judgment, but rather will make their judgment on the basis of the facts. The facts have been clearly delineated in the hearing record, and on occasion in debate on this floor. I commend now, as I have previously, the magnificent statement made by the junior Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Cook), wherein he took, one by one, the charges, the inferences, the allegations, and the implications—not just those involved in the debate, but in the stories circulated in the press, from every source—and made a point by point, meticulous answer to all such charges. I said then and I say once again that it is the constitutional duty of every Member of this body to do what MARLOW COOK, the distinguished junior

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Senator from Kentucky, did, and that is to examine these matters and look the facts in the face.

The confirmation of the nomination of a man to serve on the highest court in this land must be so judged. It must not be judged on some inference of liberal philosophy or conservative philosophy, or some alleged bias of a prolabor or antilabor stand, because, Mr. President, if we do judge on that basis, we are setting up a constitutional principle that I believe none of us would consciously adhere to or approve of. If some say, as some have said, "I oppose Clement Haynsworth because his philosophy is too prolabor or too antilabor, or too liberal or too conservative," we are in fact saying by that allegation or that statement that we are going to choose the members of the Supreme Court of the United States based upon some artificial balance between liberal and conservative, prolabor and antilabor. Mr. President, for my part, I do not want a member of the Supreme Court of the United States, whether it be the Chief Justice or an Associate Justice, who is either pro or anti anyone in these United States. To say that Clement Haynsworth is antilabor implies that the maker of the statement would rather have someone who is prolabor; or to say that he is anti-civil rights, that he would rather have someone who is pro-civil rights.

Judge Haynsworth is neither, and no conscientious member of this Government, whether he be a Senator, a Justice of the Supreme Court, or the President of the United States himself can afford the luxury of being anything other than dispassionate, calm, and impartial in his judgment of what is best for this country and best for humanity.

So I reject out of hand the contention that we should judge on the basis of a philosophical bias of any sort, and say rather that we should examine this nominee as we should examine all nominees, on the basis of their competence, their qualification to serve and to serve well, to serve impartially and to serve judiciously the best interests of the people of this country, all of them, without breaking the population down into pro or anti anything.

Clement Haynsworth is uniquely suited for this difficult task. The President of the United States has chosen well. The Senate of the United States must examine the facts and not revel in innuendos or aspersions. We must come to terms with the judgment we must make, disregarding as we must so often disregard what its political impact will be at home with one group or another, and we must decide what is best for this country.

In my humble view, what is best for this country is a man who has the judicial impartiality to look facts in the face and call the judgments as he sees them, which is precisely what we must do also in judging this confirmation.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I commend the able and distinguished Senator from Tennessee for the fine presentation he has just made. It is my firm belief that when Senators read the record in the Haynsworth case, they will find that Judge Haynsworth is as well qualified as any man who has ever been

nominated to be a Supreme Court Justice.

I am very proud that the Senator from Tennessee has seen fit to make the remarks he has made today.

Having known Judge Haynsworth, his father, his grandfather, and the distinguished family from which he comes, I am sure that the Members of the Senate and the people of this country will be very proud to have him serve as a Supreme Court Justice.

# CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, looking back to the debate on the 1970 military authorization bill, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues two points which have caused me deep concern in the past 6 or 7 weeks.

The first point is the fact that this debate has revealed to our enemies vast amounts of classified information they could not have obtained otherwise. Second, it appears to me we are witnessing a direct challenge to the committee system as we have known it here in the Senate.

On point No. 1 regarding classified information, it is not my desire to bring into question the right of any Senator to challenge any item in any bill on the floor of the Senate. To do so would challenge the democratic process which has made our Government a powerful and influential one.

However, it must be recognized that in the 6 weeks the military procurement bill has been debated item by item, information on weapons systems vital to our defense has been spread across the public record for all to see.

During this debate the thought often occurred to me that our enemies would have been required to pay millions to espionage agents for the information revealed in a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which sells for a few cents. It is not hard to imagine the excitement of communist military leaders around the world as their interpreters pour over the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and extract information vital to their development of an effective strategy against us. Can you imagine the copies of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which have been shipped to Russia, China, Cuba, and other unfriendly countries in the last month?

Mr. President, the opponents of these various weapons systems are not the only ones who have spilled our "military beans" so to speak, but those of us trying to defend these systems have also been forced to reveal classified data, knowingly and unknowingly, in an effort to preserve the strength of our military establishment.

Our entire military strategy and concepts have been enumerated in full. We have had to talk about the "2 and 1/2" concept and justify it, we have had to talk about our balance of deterrence, our commitments abroad, our strategy of attack, the strength of our Navy, the shortage of submarines, the approaching weakness of our manned bombers, the successes and failures of our antiballistic missiles, the characteristics of our new tank, the naval strategy involving our

aircraft carrier forces, the approaching obsolescence of our Air Forces, the strategic concepts upon which the C-5A is based, and so on.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to continue for an additional 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on two systems our debate has been particularly revealing, the ABM and the MBT-70.

In the lengthy debate on the ABM we precisely pinpointed the location of our planned defensive missiles, we discussed their capabilities and their weaknesses, we talked about the multiple independent reentry vehicle techniques, the size and power of our warheads, the number and range of our ABM's, the dispersion of our Sprints and Spartans, the expected points of interception, the problems with chaff and other countermeasures, and the strength and failures of the radars which control and guide these defensive missiles. This debate also laid bare the strength of our ICBM's, our Polaris and Poseidon forces, and the present makeup of our strategic bomber squadrons.

Furthermore, we revealed to a large degree exactly what we know and what we do not know about the military strength and plans of the Russians and the Chinese. Any schoolboy could plan the defense of his fort better if he knows how many slingshots, rubber guns, and dirt balls his opponents have prepared to use against him.

Regarding our revolutionary new tank, the MBT-70, we were forced to reveal its particular characteristics in an effort to justify its continued development. This being a joint project with West Germany, our allies must be in a state of shock over the fact we have unveiled to a potential enemy all the strengths and weaknesses of a vehicle in which they might some day have to place their young men and commit to a battlefield. It is likely the MBT-70 will be the last joint development project any nation will ever undertake with America, the land of open discussion.

Mr. President, I do not know what the answer is, but I hope it is something other than what we have just been through. All of these weapons systems have been reviewed and discussed at length in executive sessions of the Armed Services Committees of both the House and the Senate. In the past, certain classified hearings and reports of the committee have been available for Members of the Senate to examine if they wished.

It is not my suggestion that the Members of the Senate give unqualified support to the recommendations of the Senate Armed Services Committee. This committee has 18 members but we are not infallible, nor is the Defense Department, the President, the Bureau of the Budget, or any group involved in the defense of this Nation. Still, there must be a better way to get at these issues and deal with them in an effective way which will serve the best interest of all concerned. This must be accomplished with the recognition that more secret

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data vital to the survival of this country is heard by the Armed Services Committee than goes before all other congressional committees combined.

This problem is complicated by the fact that our enemies in this world operate in closed societies where the representatives of their people are more the servants of a powerful elite than the masters as in our country. Discussions of their military problems never reach the public ear or printed word and, therefore, they have an advantage because of the oppressive nature of the political systems under which they operate. While we cannot do anything about their system it does seem that some thought should be given to finding adequate methods to provide the necessary reviews and debates of our own military problems without the exposure which has just resulted in the Senate.

On the second point, we have witnessed in recent months a challenge to the committee system. We have seen members of other committees use their committees to go into strictly military problems in an obvious challenge to the Senate Armed Services Committee. In addition, we have seen organized a bipartisan group of Senators and Congressmen working as members of an unofficial body called the Military Spending Committee of Members of Congress for Peace Through Law.

What would the members of this august body think if a similar nonofficial committee was organized to challenge the findings and reports of the Foreign Relations Committee, the Judiciary Committee, or the Finance Committee? If such a practice should become a custom we would have chaos, and each of us clearly recognizes the inherent dangers.

Now, Mr. President, I know some of the members of this military spending committee and they are good men who share a deep concern for the well-being of our people. But I wonder if they realize they are opening the door to the destruction of the committee system of Congress and embarking on broad vistas from which there may be no honorable retreat. They have assigned themselves to such groups and in so doing have demonstrated a lack of faith in the committee system as such.

Also, there are some other questions which should be raised. For example, what sort of impression would be created if 30 or 40 amendments were offered to the foreign aid authorization bill calling for reviews and studies of our foreign aid to each recipient in South America, in the Far East, in the Near East, and so on. Has the expenditures of these funds been analyzed in detail? Have cost effectiveness studies been made on each program in these various countries? Is it cheaper to feed an Indian or an Indonesian? Should not the General Accounting Office look into these programs? Have justification hearings been held on these expenditures? Where do these expenditures fit into our priorities?

In overcoming malnutrition, has the responsible committee determined what constitutes malnutrition and how many calories are needed to overcome it? What independent studies are available to sup-

port these requests? Is it cost effective to ship rice from Arkansas or Louisiana to Vietnam when Formosa could provide it cheaper? Should we not have studies on top of the hearings conducted by the responsible committees here in Congress on these subjects?

These unorthodox procedures of short-cutting committee work and organizing a parallel nonofficial committee has resulted in floor challenges poorly based in fact. But the result has been not victories for the opponents, but victories for our enemies who have learned classified information about our Military Establishment. Yes, we could go into daily executive sessions in these Senate debates, but would that serve the high purposes of democracy or enhance the image of the Senate in the eyes of the people? I think not.

Mr. President, these two subjects have been on my mind a great deal since the recent debate of the 1970 procurement bill began. There is no doubt that this bill has received the closest examination by the Senate in the history of this Nation. This examination has also served some useful purposes as well as bringing about the problem I have just discussed. For one thing, it is my opinion the Senate Armed Services Committee gave the 1970 military procurement the most careful study and review it has given a piece of legislation since I have been on that committee. This does not mean to imply that committee action in previous years has not been thorough, but today, more than ever, our military establishment is gigantic and its needs are consuming a large part of the budget dollar.

The debate on this year's military authorization bill amounts to a new phenomenon never before witnessed in the Senate. The requests of the military were about the same last year, during the Johnson administration, when no item was seriously questioned on the floor, even the expansive Sentinel ABM which involved a commitment much greater than the Safeguard ABM recently passed by a narrow vote. We have just witnessed here in the Senate during recent weeks an item by item challenge of many of the new hardware weapon systems vital to our national defense. It is an unprecedented situation, and I sometimes wonder if the "whiz kids of systems analysis" in the Department of Defense have not moved to the Hill.

Mr. President, secrecy is not bad when it involves the defense of our loved ones, our homes, our businesses, and our cities. There is a difficult area here, and we must find the right place to draw the line between the people's right to know and the point at which our security is being compromised. I believe that a fuller use of the committee system, working through the proper committees, is a part of the answer. Surely, we cannot continue to lay bare our military secrets as has been done during the debate on the 1970 military procurement bill.

#### NEED MORE HELP FOR RURAL WATER AND SEWER SYSTEMS

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, many nonmetropolitan Americans have every right to question our national pri-

orities when we can put men on the moon, but are falling farther behind in the effort to provide modern conveniences for many of our smalltown and farm homes.

Out in the rural United States more than 30,000 smaller towns are still without water systems, and more than 40,000 without sewer systems. Despite scientific and engineering developments of recent years, Americans residing in these areas still must struggle against the hazards of bad water and scarce water; and communities without these advantages most of us take for granted are certain to lose out in their efforts to hold their people, attract newcomers and develop new industry. The lack of central water and sewer systems is much of the reason for rural decline and mounting numbers of distressed people moving in on our cities.

In recent years we launched an attack on this problem through the rural community water facilities program. The Farmers Home Administration of the Department of Agriculture has helped rural communities plan and finance 3,600 water and sewer systems in the first 8 years of the effort.

My State of Missouri is one of the three leading States in accomplishment under this program. However, we still need many more systems in rural Missouri than the 165 produced to date. Unfortunately, in the past 2 years, the program in our State has gone down from a pace of \$14 million to \$3 million a year. This results from lack of support in a war-heavy Federal budget for this kind of action in the interest of a stronger and better America.

Missourians and their statewide Farmers Home organization, so well administered in the past administration by State Director J. Everett Jose, put forth an outstanding effort to begin the task of overcoming the rural disadvantage in water and sewer services. We have been assured that Mendel Cline, succeeding Everett Jose as State director, also will make the most of every resource and opportunity to carry on the rural water facilities program; but more help is needed from the administration and the Congress.

The challenge of water and sewer development in rural areas is often compared to the challenge of rural electrification, which has been met so successfully that lights and power now flow to almost every farm home in the United States.

Rural electric cooperatives also have demonstrated in Missouri that they can render outstanding public service in helping the people of their communities provide long-awaited water and sewer systems, through the Farmers Home Administration program.

This civic effort by rural electricians is described in an editorial published in Rural Electric Missourian for September 1969. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### WATER SYSTEMS ARE ESSENTIAL FOR RURAL PROGRESS

Rural leaders have long been aware of the important role that a good, quality water

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supply plays in the total rural development program. Industrial growth, recreation development and just plain wholesome rural living all are enhanced by the availability of a safe and sanitary water supply.

Good and adequate water is a serious problem in many areas of rural Missouri because ground water is very high in salt content. Drilling in these areas for individual water wells becomes a definite financial burden.

For all these reasons Missouri is one of the leading states in developing modern, central water systems covering small towns and countryside. Project financing through the Farmers Home Administration to date totals some \$35-million in loans for Missouri rural water systems.

Our state ranks third, exceeded only by Texas and Mississippi, in the volume of its rural water program. Some 165 projects have been developed to date with 25 additional projects in advance stages of planning. Most of these systems are thriving. Some are having the expected difficulties that come with supplying a service to sparsely settled rural areas.

In addition, approximately 140 applications have been rejected because funds will not be available to finance them until after fiscal 1970.

Missouri's electric cooperatives have been instrumental in developing many of these projects. They have provided technical assistance and leadership in the development of these projects throughout the state.

With the knowledge gained from 35 years experience providing electric service in rural America, electric cooperatives in Missouri and other states can and should offer valuable leadership and advice during the difficult formative years of the rural water districts.

Water and electricity are two essential resources for the growth of any area. Electric cooperatives have provided the electricity—they can lend valuable assistance to the water districts.

#### THE CONDITIONS OF THE RURAL AGED

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, for the past 2 months it has been my privilege to conduct a series of field hearings into the problems of the rural aged on behalf of the Special Committee on Aging. During that time hearings were held in Iowa, Kentucky, Indiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi. In each of these States the problems of the rural aged were all too obvious: extreme isolation, inadequate diets, ramshackle housing, and infrequent medical treatment are but a few of the severe problems with which they must contend. In addition, they share with their urban contemporaries a common economic problem. Almost without exception their income is grossly inadequate to meet their needs. The minimum social security benefit of \$55 which many of them receive is barely enough to maintain life from month to month. As well, many of the people whom I talked with have no income at all and must rely entirely on friends and relatives for the necessities of life.

If there is one conclusion that I came away with after the hearings, it is that this country has a positive obligation to make as comfortable as possible the twilight years of those who have served it so well. Let us not forget that these are the farmers and the miners and the laborers and the mothers who have time and time again shown their devotion to

this country. Certainly, the true test of a nation's greatness is its treatment of those "who are about to leave the fair."

One man who feels very strongly that our country is wanting in this regard is the Reverend Nathaniel Machesky, O.F.M. Father Machesky has done much in the Greenwood, Miss., area to insure that the last years of the aged will be dignified and happy. The statement which he delivered before the Special Committee on Aging at the Mississippi hearing, I found to be most powerful and moving. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### STATEMENT ON AGING

A case for action, immediate and meaningful, for the aging was established here this afternoon just as in every hearing conducted by the distinguished Senator from Indiana and by other members of his Committee on Aging.

There is, however, one dimension of the overall consideration which must be mentioned. This is the profoundly human dimension. Something mysterious, almost magical, happens to a person in need when he or she knows that somebody cares. For far too long aged people in our community have known—not felt—that few if any cared about them. Can any of you here this afternoon know what it means to have lived a life of backbreaking toil in cotton fields or cotton warehouses only to be told in the twilight of one's years that "if you were not so lazy you would have saved for your old age"? Or to be told, "If you had been a better parent you would have trained your children to look after you?"

I have looked into tear-filled eyes of old people who heard such things from social and welfare workers who used such a cruel way of reminding old people that they were a burden to society and if they happened to be black, they were somehow less than a person. I have heard old people say that they lived in the hope of one more Christmas because the little party for old folks here at the Center was the biggest day of their lives because it proved that somebody cares. Gentlemen of this special committee, please carry to every member of your committee the voice of all the aging members of our community. They can point to a life of loyalty to the American system, they can show you a record of many years of hard work, they can tell you in a voice mellow with age, enriched with sincerity, that they have survived by their faith in America and their confidence in the American dream. Before their life's candle flickers out, they hope—oh, how they hope!—that America will show it truly cares. America should show it cares quickly and meaningfully by using the resources these aged persons have helped develop, by using it now to make every minute of their waning lives rich in contentment so that their loyalty, their faith and their hope will not have been in vain.

#### KANSAS HONORED BY SECRETARY HICKEL

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, the State of Kansas was honored this month with a 3-day visit by Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel and his charming wife.

For the Secretary, his visit was in most respects a homecoming, for it was near the town of Claffin that he was born and reared. It was my privilege and pleasure to accompany the Hickel party on a tour

of our State which took him into each of the five congressional districts. It was obvious that the Secretary enjoyed every minute of his stay, and there was little question about the warmth of his reception.

The full account of this visit is related in a most concise and picturesque manner by Mr. McDill Boyd, noted Kansas publisher and outstanding citizen, who also accompanied the Hickel party on much of its swing around the State. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Boyd's article, entitled "A Most Remarkable Man," and published in the Phillips County Review of October 16, 1969, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### A MOST REMARKABLE MAN

An engaging and dynamic man, the human side of Walter Hickel emerged at Claffin last Friday evening when his heart was on his sleeve as he visited with family and friends.

The Secretary of Interior, accompanied by his gracious wife, took time out from an extensive tour of Kansas last week to "go back home", and see his folks again. It was his first visit to Kansas since he was named to the Cabinet post by President Nixon, and after watching him relax at a family dinner, it was easy to see why he had said that if he came to Kansas, he was certainly going to visit Claffin.

Hickel reached down to tousle the hair of a nephew; and inquire of a little niece what had happened to one of her front teeth. Surrounded by 46 close relatives (he came from a large family) the group first went to dinner at the church basement; then to the high school football game; and wound up the evening with a reception when more than 100 relatives, down to second and third cousins, continued with the visit.

He and Mrs. Hickel have six sons of their own, and with two of them still at home, she cannot travel with him all the time, but was at his side constantly on the trip to Kansas. Commenting simply, he said, "When a man gets too big for his home town, he's too big to be useful to anyone else."

During half-time at the football game, he was at the microphone in the press box telling family and friends how good it was to be home again; and calling for teammates on the Claffin football team. The other three members of the backfield (Hickel was the quarterback at 135 pounds) all showed up as Hickel called for "42-right", a favorite play at that time.

Hickel is at his no inconsiderable best with questions and answers before audiences of any size. He fields questions promptly, directly, and intelligently. Audiences at Wichita, Salina and McPherson; the press corps at those cities as well as at Hays and Dodge City were captivated by his forthright approach. During his brief stay in Kansas, he had a capacity crowd at a Wichita luncheon; at a reception and dinner in Salina; at an airport reception in Hays enroute to Dodge City where he was the principal speaker at the Arkansas Basin Development Association before going on to tour Old Fort Larned, one of the Kansas installations under his supervision. He also visited the "Waiting Wives" at the Schilling Air Force base in Salina where families of veterans who are overseas await their return.

After a busy day and a half, he made the trip to Claffin to spend the night with relatives, and then took off for McPherson at 7 a.m. Saturday where another overflow crowd—this time a breakfast—greeted he and his wife.

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**CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY**  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20505

**TO:**

**FROM: John S. Warner**  
**Legislative Counsel**  
**Telephone:**

STAT

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**CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY**

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20505

**TO:**

**FROM:** John S. Warner  
Legislative Counsel  
Telephone:

STAT



This looks like a not too subtle snipe in advance at Symington's hearings as well as the ABM debate. Notice the references to "commitments abroad", the Foreign Relations Committee, foreign aid bill, etc.

# Senators Held Exploring Role Of U.S. Army Advisers in Laos

By Bernard D. Nossiter  
 Washington Post Staff Writer

A secret hearing on Laos is reported to have explored the role played by American Army officers advising Royal Lao combat units.

William Sullivan, a deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asia, is understood to have testified on this point yesterday and Monday.

Sullivan, ambassador to the embattled kingdom from 1964 until this year, is said to have reiterated the administration's insistence that no American soldiers are engaged in actual fighting. Knowledgeable sources, however, said that his replies did not rule out the possibility that Army captains and majors are at least reviewing if not formulating battle plans for the Lao forces.

## Strict Silence Ordered

Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.), the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee chairman, is holding the inquiry behind closed doors and has enjoined government agencies and senators involved to maintain a strict silence.

However, three military attaches in Laos were also questioned yesterday about points raised with Sullivan. They were asked, too, about reports that American bombers are providing tactical support for the royalist-neutralist govern-

ment in its battles against the leftist Pathet Lao and their North Vietnamese allies.

No portion of the attaches' testimony came to light. The three officers questioned were Col. Robert L. Tyrrell, air attache in Vientiane; Lt. Col. Edgar W. Duskin and Maj. Robert Thomas, Army attaches.

## CIA Activities

Sullivan is also understood to have mentioned some activities undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency in

Laos. The CIA is said to employ Green Berets on detached duty to lead some Lao units.

Informed persons disclosed that one point has already emerged clearly from the inquiry. These sources said that the Symington subcommittee and the administration are going to collide over how much of the Laos hearings will be made public.

The subcommittee has been struggling with the State Department over the transcript

of its earlier, secret inquiry into the American involvement in the Philippines. That quarrel, it is reported, has now been virtually resolved. The Laos transcript, it is now predicted, will cause much greater problems.

One member of the subcommittee, Sen. George Aiken (R-Vt.), yesterday offered an optimistic reading of the first two days' testimony. He said he didn't think it indicated that the United States was slipping into another Vietnam.

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## MIRV TEST DELAY URGED BY MUSKIE

He Hopes to Encourage  
Similar Soviet Action

By LAWRENCE VAN GELDEN

Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine last night a unilateral six-month postponement by the United States of testing of its controversial multiple individually targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs.)

Mr. Muskie, who was the Democrat nominee for Vice President last year, urged that the postponement be accompanied by an announcement that tests of the multiple-warhead intercontinental missile system would not be resumed unless the Soviet Union initiated such tests.

"A moratorium on testing our multiple re-entry missiles would not involve any appreciable risk to our security," Mr. Muskie said in a speech prepared for delivery at a dinner at the American Hotel in honor of the 25th anniversary of the Weitzmann Institute of Science in Israel.

He said, "It is proposed as a meaningful step to stimulate mutual efforts by the United States and the Soviet Union to control the escalation of nuclear weapons systems before it is too late."

Supported Brooke Move

Mr. Muskie was one of 41 Senators who supported a proposal last summer by Senator Edward W. Brooke, Republican of Massachusetts, calling for speedy negotiation with the Soviet Union of a moratorium on testing and deployment of MIRVs.

Critics of the multiple warhead system have contended that unless an immediate halt is imposed on MIRV testing, it may prove impossible to reverse the nuclear arms race in any negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Mr. Muskie said in his speech last night: "There is some evidence that the Russians are not anxious to talk about substantive arms control agreements with the United States until they have resolved their border dispute with Communist China. We should not let such delays prevent us from acting to keep MIRV missile development from jeopardizing chances of reaching an arms control agreement."

He noted that at the time of Senator Brooke's proposal, disarmament talks between the United States and the Soviet Union appeared imminent, but he observed last night, "The talks have not begun and no dates have been fixed."

Meetings Postponed

In August of 1968, the Soviet Union informed the United States that it was ready to begin the discussions with a series of meetings of heads of government at Leningrad. But after the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia that month, the Johnson Administration put off the talks. In mid-June, the Nixon Administration informed the Soviet Union that it was ready to begin them.

President Nixon said in June that the United States would not agree to "unilateral" suspension of its multiple-warhead missiles, but would suspend its tests only if "the Soviet Union and we could agree that a moratorium on tests could be mutually beneficial to us."

Early in August, the Pentagon's chief scientist, Dr. John S. Foster Jr., director of research and engineering for the Defense Department, told Congress that in his opinion the Soviet Union was testing MIRVs and should be able to start installing such warheads on its missiles during the last half of next year.

Later in the month, President Nixon's advisers were reported divided on whether to propose the MIRV flight test moratorium to the Soviets.

In his speech last night, Mr. Muskie said: "At the present time, we and the Soviet Union can, through our own surveillance systems, tell with great accuracy, the number of missile launchers the other has in place. But we cannot detect the number of warheads fitted inside a single missile."

On-Site Inspection

"Thus," he continued, "if MIRV missiles—with their multiple warheads—are deployed, it will be virtually impossible to achieve genuine arms control arrangement without detailed on-site inspection rights."

Among the invited guests among the 1,500 persons present at last night's dinner were 63 Nobel laureates and other individuals distinguished in public affairs, literature, music, labor and business.

The guest of honor at the dinner was Meyer W. Weisgal, the president of the Weizman Institute, in Rehovoth, Israel, who is marking his 75th birthday. At the end of this year, he will be succeeded as president of the institute—one of the world's largest—by Dr. Albert B. Sabin, who developed the oral polio vaccine.

President Nixon sent a congratulatory message to the members of the institute.

Through dinner subscriptions at \$500 a person and other gifts, last night's gathering raised one million dollars for the institute. Mr. Weisgal was presented with the city's Cultural Award in behalf of Mayor Lindsay by Richard Lewishohn, Economic Development Administrator.

The dinner was the first in a series of events honoring the institute and Mr. Weisgal. Others will be held in London and Israel.

*Synington Subcommittee File*

## Fulbright Lists Extent Of Laos Aid

By United Press International

Sen. J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., claims U.S. military involvement in Laos has swelled to a point where the government is spending \$150 million a year to supply arms, training and transportation for an army of 36,000 men.

Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a severe critic of the Vietnam war, said yesterday U.S. commanders, using "enormous" air power, are engaged in the actual planning of combat operations in Laos.

The Central Intelligence Agency, acting under orders from the executive branch, is conducting the operation, he said, and this "seems to me to be most unusual and irregular—if not unconstitutional."

Fulbright made the comments after emerging from a closed hearing at which CIA Director Richard Helms told a Foreign Relations subcommittee about the U.S. role in Laos.

The State Department spokesman Robert J. McCloskey said, meanwhile, the United States has no defense agreement with Laos that is written, stated or otherwise understood.